20c SEPTEMBER 17, 1951

A Fig Leaf for McCarthy—page 17

New Republic

"Whereas the Allied Powers and Japan are resolved that henceforth their relations shall be those of nations which, as sovereign equals, co-operate in friendly association to promote their common welfare and to maintain international peace and security . . ."

The Japanese Peace Treaty
—AN EDITORIAL

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Letters

Abolish Commissions!

● It is more than strange—it is shameful—that in all of the discussion about Selective Service and Universal Military Training there has not been the slightest mention of the controversy that raged over the military caste system at the end of the last war. At that time the bitterness over the social distinction in the armed forces between officers and enlisted men reached such a pitch that the War Department appointed a board headed by General Doolittle to look into the question.

This board held open hearings and prepared a report and recommendations that were remarkably honest in their acknowledgment of the evils of military discrimination. The recommendations, if put into effect, would have salved some of the rawest sores, though they would not have touched the deep-seated source of infection. But even these mild recommendations, such as that both officers and enlisted men should wear the same uniform, have not been put into effect.

There was some isolated discussion of the problem in the years between the end of the war and now. Gen. Robert Wood Johnson, chairman of the board of Johnson and Johnson, pointed out that the difficulty the military was having in recruiting its National Guard and active reserve components was not a question of money but rather that citizens of a democracy are understandably reluctant to put themselves in a position where they will be regarded as social inferiors. There was no problem in securing officers for the National Guard and reserves, just enlisted men.

Now that we face the sickening but unavoidable prospect of more or less permanent military service, either in the form of Universal Military Service or extended Selective Service, it is more than high time that we eliminate the corrupting evils of discrimination in the armed forces. Some progress has been made toward doing away with discrimination based on color in the armed forces, though much more needs to be done. A similar effort must be made to do away with discrimination based on the unnatural gulf between officers and enlisted men.

Our democratic ideals demand that this be done. Conscience demands that it be done. And good sense demands that it be done. The compelling reason for eliminating this discrimination is to make a better armed force, just as the compelling reasons for all moves to advance human dignity are to make better human institutions—better in the sense of being more capable, more reliable, more stable, stronger and more efficient.

This is demonstrably true in the case of the armed forces. Studies in industry have shown, if it required showing, that the determining factor in productivity of workers is not pay or hours of work or rest periods or any of the other ordinary paraphernalia of personnel management. It is the sense of individual importance which the worker feels.

Thus the efficiency of the armed forces will be greater if their members have a sense of individual importance. But the bulk of enlisted personnel cannot have a sense of individual importance if the whole military system is predicated on the dictate that enlisted men are an inferior order of being.

Very well. What needs to be done? The Doolittle board recommendations must be put into effect, of course. There must be no discrimination in uniform between officers and enlisted men; there must be no segregation of eating facilities, recreational facilities, living facilities and facilities generally—there must be no "Off Limits" signs. There must be no discrimination in such things as combat pay, saluting, size of shoulder patches, forms of address, and other such distinctions, including some that have not yet been devised.

But much more than these, surface manifestations need to be corrected. The most important step that must be taken, without which all the others are of trivial significance, is one that the Doolittle board noted as an "advanced concept," but could not quite bring itself to recommend. It is a simple step, so simple that no one who has not served in the armed forces would believe it. Yet, it will mean a major up-rooting of the military system.

It is to abolish the outmoded business of granting commissions and substitute in its stead a simple progression of rank from the lowest to the highest, eliminating the class distinction of which the commission is both the cause and the symptom. This would not diminish authority or rank or the prompt execution of orders in the slightest. The armed forces, through the sanctions of military law, could maintain discipline and implicit obedience to orders without the artificial segregation between commissioned and non-commissioned people. Obedience to orders would actually improve because of the tremendous boost in morale that would come with the abolition of the commission and the galling discriminations that fester out from it.

Washington, D. C. JONATHAN MECK

The Way We Live Now

● From the reading of the letters in your correspondence column, issue of August 6, written by Pat Flannery and Mrs. Edward Bauman, I am led to believe that these two writers are "optimists" of the type described in a definition of that term which was current 15 or 20 years ago—"A fellow who doesn't care what happens, so long as it doesn't happen to him."

Mr. Flannery, of course, figures that no matter what happens, he and Senator O'Mahoney will be taken care of by their powerful friends among the big cattlemen, and Mrs. Bauman, from her letter, seems to belong to the class who have been able to make money and rise from the lower brackets of income to the higher

(*Continued on page 2*)

Bandwagon

Hollywood Verismo

While the movie is full of authentic detail—Palestinian desert scenery (filmed in Arizona). . . . – *From a feature story in* Life *on* David and Bathsheba.

Just One of Those Things

Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru told Parliament . . . that head-hunting Naga tribesmen from Burma raided an Indian village near the border . . . and beheaded 93 villagers. . . . "The incident had no geographical importance," he said. "It was an exhibition of exuberance which occurs annually, and there is nothing new about it." – *UP dispatch from New Delhi.*

Mens Sana in Corpore Sano

Middleweight champion Randy Turpin did not box today and his only road work in preparation for his return bout with Ray Robinson was a trip to a nearby town to replenish his supply of comic books. – *UP dispatch from Ferndale, N. Y.*

Confusion Worse Confounded

From his home in Butte, Mont., Mr. Corkill had written *Fish Lane*, his first novel, on a Braille typewriter while following the Dodgers on Mutual's *Game of the Day*. – *From a press release of the Unicorn Mystery Book Club, Bobbs-Merrill.*

Our readers are invited to contribute; $2 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, c/o New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. – The Editors

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New Republic

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WASHINGTON WIRE

IF WAR resumes now in Korea, it will be a whopper. Both sides have piled up strength. If the Reds decide to throw in their air force, we will probably reply with a full MacArthur assault against Manchuria. So started, Korean War II would be hard to contain. The anti-Communist world showed its willingness to risk war at San Francisco over the Japanese Peace Treaty. The next move is Moscow's.

America's Dulles diplomacy gave Japan a reasonably good treaty. The worst victims were the US pundits who had built up a scare story of Russian "wrecking." As we all know, these pundits are good fellows who are handicapped by the pressure of deadline punditizing. Now they can take out their humiliation over wrong-guessing by denouncing Acheson for something else. That will make everybody feel better. Acheson is fresh from his latest big victory at San Francisco, and it is time the Republicans gave him another no-confidence vote.

On the American political front there's more and more danger that two of the least popular men in the nation, Taft and Truman, will compete in the next Presidential popularity contest. Our system is like an Atlantic City bathing show whose contestants are picked by the WCTU. In a Taft-Truman 1952 battle, half the voters will yawn and stay at home. It's curious how any proposal to change our system of candidate selection to let the voters have a say is regarded as faintly subversive! No: under immemorial rule at the American boarding house the voter who doesn't like the landlady's hash gets beans. That's his choice.

We are now going to have some more inflation. Congress has been sobering up at the prospect of more Korean War and has been passing big military appropriations with hardly a peep. The latest is for $61 billion. But Congress for nine months has carefully prepared for inflation by blocking adequate taxes and refusing inflation controls. Now it is ready to register its standard expression of indignation and surprise as inflation develops.

Put bluntly, America is preparing to finance rearmament by inflation. This system, theoretically unorthdox, actually follows definite economic laws and is not wholly unsatisfactory. The beauty of the system is that the people who carry the main burden can't for the life of them figure out what is hitting them. Inflation, therefore, is the politicians' delight. It really represents a capital levy. This levy is imposed on thrift. It diminishes rainy-day funds in pensions, life insurance and government bonds. The wealthy can ride with inflation and profit by it; farmers and organized labor are rather well able to handle inflation. The burden falls chiefly on the white-collar class, the annuitant, the aged pensioner, the respectable-poor, the unorganized, the weak and the helpless. They have no voting strength, so this is fine. They are bemused by the dollar-fallacy that gives them always the same number of dollars in the savings account or pension fund even though this money will buy only half as much. Among the chief victims of inflation are the college professors who lecture on it.

The pro-Chiang Kai-shek "China Lobby" is faced with a problem. Two top Chinese procurement officials here, Lt.-Gen. P. T. Mow and Col. V. S. Hsiang, have quit—charging graft and corruption in Formosa. They have, of course, immediately been called "pro-Communist" at home, but they have documents that appear to support their case. This is the old Marshall-MacArthur controversy all over again. It comes just as the pro-Asiatic bloc in Congress is preparing to approve $300 million more in aid for Formosa.

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In addressing Congress on April 19, MacArthur explained that Chiang, on Formosa, "has had the opportunity to refute by action much of the malicious gossip which so undermined the strength of his leadership on the Chinese mainland." Now comes more of this "malicious gossip," with verbatim texts to support it. What will the China Lobby do? Great curiosity surrounds the handling of this story by *Time* magazine, for Henry Luce is an ardent anti-Acheson, pro-Chiang man. So far the only comment that has been offered is a mild tut-tut (*Time*, September 3) for Nationalist "factional squabbling."

Senator McCarran, voted by Washington reporters the second-worst Senator after Joe McCarthy, is pushing his Red inquiry into the Institute of Pacific Relations where the target is Owen Lattimore. *Time* (September 3) hails this inquiry for its "air of quiet authority," "commendable restraint" and absence of "scare tactics." Actually, of course, it is a standardized ordeal by hearsay. The China Lobby and Joe McCarthy are pushing it, and a long succession of professional ex-Communists bandy charges which the victims try in vain to meet at the time they are uttered. The Canadian minister delivered a sharp verbal protest at libels aired under immunity here against Dominion officials. Harvard professor John K. Fairbank is another victim caught in the McCarthy-Luce cross-fire. Practically every non-100 percent Chiang Kai-shek supporter on the State Department-China desk is under suspicion.

Notes: MacArthur is now definitely in the Taft camp. . . . The American Medical Association is preparing to plunge deeper into politics in the 1952 campaign. . . . Spread of GOP isolationism to Dixiecrat Senators like Harry Byrd, Kenneth McKellar, Walter George, John Stennis, Olin Johnston worries internationalists; their votes put over the 36-34 Dirksen amendment slashing economic aid for Europe. . . . Truman sounded like a candidate in his San Francisco speech.

Washington T.R.B.

CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 2)

ones, and so is not interested in the lower line of folks.

I should like to see these two "optimists" placed in a city slum with a family of five or six to live on an income of, say, $1,200 a year, as many of their fellow citizens are. The average income of the country per worker is about $3,500. If big "swine," like the large cattle owners, and those who draw the larger salaries, are to have annual incomes from $100,000 down to a minimum of, say, $10,000, what becomes of the average for the poorly paid people? As a matter of fact, the latest statistics of which I have knowledge show that there are in the country 10 million families whose incomes are $2,000 per annum or less; and of this number, four million receive $1,000 or *less*. What do folks of this sort do under present prices? They and their children go without proper nourishment, proper clothing, proper housing and proper medical care.

The surrender to the large stock interest and the large financial interests of the business world, made by the present Congress, is a most shameless betrayal of the rights of the plain folk of the land, and every man who voted to release a proper price control deserves to be retired to private life when next he is a candidate for a Congressional position.

Los Angeles, Calif. FRANK C. REID

Broken Barriers in Texas

● You may remember that some time ago Wayland College, at Plainview, Texas, decided to admit Negroes. This is such an unusual step for a college in Texas that I wrote the president a letter of congratulation. I received the enclosed reply, which your readers might like to see.

Houston, Texas R. A. CHILDERS

[Enclosure]

● Dear Mr. Childers: I was happy to have your letter and comment concerning the entrance of Negroes to Wayland College. May I assure you that I appreciate your interest and concern in this matter.

You will be interested to know that we have received 50 pieces of correspondence to the present time and of these only five expressed regret over the step we have taken. We feel this is a good representation, since objectors generally voice their opinion quicker than people who are for a program.

At the present we have enrolled four Negroes and are expecting a number of others in the fall. They are of the very highest type and are good students.

Your letter was indeed encouraging and I ask that you join us in prayer that Wayland may prove that this problem of the South may be worked out in a Christian manner.

Plainview, Texas J. W. MARSHALL

Critics of Catholicism

● It was good and generous of you to print those two letters from Catholic readers criticizing M. R. Werner's review of Paul Blanshard's latest book. Publishing these letters partly makes up for your mistake in selecting Mr. Werner as the reviewer.

The trouble is, both these men hate the Catholic Church and one does not go to a man's enemy for a just appraisal of his character. Hate in this case has led, not to the "big lie," but to false representation, mean innuendo and cunning half truth. Such methods may well be unintentional on the part of the writers, for both are blinded by a destructive emotion. Less heat on their part would have given more light. Also, they both have been basically wrong in their thinking: A church is not a state—their ends and their methods must necessarily differ.

Living as we do today under the gigantic menace of atheistic Communism it is to be regretted that writers like Mr. Blanshard and Mr. Werner have not been able to show forth more Christian charity, and a more humane and intelligent understanding.

(REV.) PETER M. DUNNE, S.J.
University of San Francisco, San Francisco, Calif.

After Every War

● F. Graham Tollit (*NR*, August 13) sounds like a spokesman for the "super race" of arrogant Americans who feel that if the enemy doesn't take our orders, we can smash his cities with an "A" or "H" bomb. I take the opposite point of view. After any war both sides have to sit down and the "victor" eventually reconstructs the other nation which has lost! The dead are buried, and almost everyone says, "What a hell of a way to sacrifice lives." But a few will say, "But we won."

Richmond, Calif. TOM KENDALL

Cheers for T.R.B.

● . . . T.R.B is read always, and first, on arrival, even though the rest of the paper may have to wait several days. I like the entire *NR*—but T.R.B. is superlative. HUGH CHAMBERLIN BURR

Rochester, N. Y.

Amos 'n' Andy, TV

● Congratulations on Saul Carson's well-written column in the August 20 *New Republic* relative to the NAACP boycott of the *Amos 'n' Andy* show over CBS-TV. . . .

Richmond, Va. DAVID MC D. SIMMS

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New Republic

THE TREATY AND THE FUTURE OF JAPAN

ON HIS return from the United Nations Conference in San Francisco in 1945, a leading American held aloft a copy of the UN Charter and cried exultantly: "There will no longer be any need for treaties, alliances or balance of power!"

Now in that same city of San Francisco the United States has concluded both a treaty and an alliance, the underlying purpose of which is to redress the balance of power in Asia.

This is the central meaning of the events that have taken place here during the past week.

There is an air of elegance in the degree to which the events in San Francisco reflect the precise power situation that obtains in Asia. The treaty was signed by 48 nations. Check off on your map those nations among the 48 whose territories lie in the Far East, and you will find that they constitute, in the main, those geographical areas which can effectively be brought within the protective cover of US land, sea and air power.

India and Burma did not sign. Both gave deep thought to the perfectly obvious fact that US military power is not yet (and may never be) developed to the point where it can be the determining factor in their defense. If India and Burma were to participate in a ceremony for the purpose of welcoming Japan into the non-Communist power bloc, they might earn such enmity from the Kremlin as could not effectively be neutralized by the military power of the US. This is not to say that American diplomacy cannot succeed anywhere in the world today without offering specific military guarantees. But it is intended to suggest that this is quite definitely true as regards the great land masses of Asia and Europe.

So much for the relationship of the Japanese treaty to the power struggle between the US and the USSR. What of Japan and her future under the treaty?

From the point of view of the present Japanese Government, the treaty must certainly be considered a good one. The treaty returns Japan to full sovereignty, although it limits the area of that sovereignty. The treaty recognizes "that Japan should pay reparations to the Allied Powers" but indicates no specific amounts to be paid, leaving this to be worked out on a bilateral basis between a sovereign Japan and any claimants who might consider the effort worth the trouble. The treaty concedes to Japan the right to rearm, and places no restrictions on that right. A separate US-Japanese security pact provides interim protection for Japan. The treaty regularizes all commercial and financial relationships between Japan and the signatories. The treaty is extraordinarily conciliatory as treaties with former enemies go. But the important thing is that Japan's future now lies in great measure with the Japanese people. What will be the character of the new Japan? How dependable an ally can we expect her to be?

Under the stern eye of the Allied Occupation Authority, the Japanese in 1946 adopted a new Constitution which is generally regarded as one of the most enlightened and liberal to be found anywhere in the world. The surest guarantee that Japan will remain a dependable ally of the free world would be a demonstrated determination on the part of the Japanese—especially Japanese officials—to uphold and effectively implement their Constitution. We may ask ourselves, therefore, just how devoted are Japan's present leaders to their new Constitution?

A quick flashback to the famous constitutional revision crisis of 1946 provides a most illuminating background for some of the Japanese faces in the foreground here in San Francisco. One of MacArthur's first acts as Supreme Commander in Japan was to inform the Japanese that they would have to revise their old Emperor-dominated Constitution along democratic lines. Three months later the Japanese submitted their revisions to a flabbergasted MacArthur. They turned out to be nothing more than a clever rewording of the old autocratic Meiji Constitution. The Emperor was still quite definitely the State!

MacArthur was outraged. He ordered his aide, Gen. Courtney Whitney, to have his staff prepare a complete draft of a thoroughly democratic constitution for Japan. Ten days later, after a few minor changes, the draft was delivered to the Japanese foreign minister and the members of his Constitutional Revision Committee.

If MacArthur had been flabbergasted by the committee's draft, the committee was thunderstruck by MacArthur's. The Emperor had been reduced to a mere symbol of the State; sovereignty rested with the people;

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a "bill of rights" guaranteed a freely elected Diet; the army, navy and air force of Japan had been abolished "forever."

A campaign was immediately begun by the Japanese officials concerned to persuade MacArthur's headquarters to reconsider. Memorandums were written; new drafts were prepared; letters were exchanged; Allied officials were buttonholed on the steps of GHQ by politely incredulous Japanese officials. A particularly active buttonholer was one Jiro Shirasu, at that time Vice-Chief of the Central Liaison Office of the Japanese Government. A tall, handsome, suave and rather extravagantly urbane man in his forties, Shirasu masks a positively feverish interest in politics with the air of a bored aristocrat. He did his best to convey to headquarters the "impracticability" of GHQ's draft constitution. But MacArthur stood firm. In desperation, the foreign minister and his colleagues obtained an audience with the Emperor. But the Emperor counseled obedience to GHQ.

The result is the present Japanese Constitution!

Five years later it comes as a shock to learn that the gentleman who was foreign minister in 1946, and who was in the forefront of the fight waged by Japanese officialdom against the present Constitution, was none other than Shigeru Yoshida—the present Prime Minister of Japan, leader of Japan's delegation to San Francisco, the man who accepted the treaty for his country and signed it here.

It is no less interesting that in one of the rooms on the ninth floor of the Mark Hopkins Hotel, where Yoshida's party was quartered in San Francisco is none other than Jiro Shirasu. His modest title of "Special Assistant to the Japanese Delegation" cannot hide the fact that Shirasu is Yoshida's good right arm. And he is being prominently mentioned in dispatches out of Tokyo as a candidate for appointment as the first Ambassador to the United States from the new Japan!

It would be rather naive to suppose that Yoshida and his government will, upon Japan's resumption of sovereignty, immediately overthrow or secretly attempt to subvert the Constitution of Japan. The danger is rather that a Japanese Government not wholeheartedly devoted to the principles of free government as set forth in the Constitution of Japan may easily fall prey to elements in Japanese society which would like to see the Constitution subverted.

It is one of the least encouraging aspects of the present Japanese political situation that Yoshida's Liberal Party has a virtual stranglehold on the Japanese Diet until 1953—when a regular election will have to be held.

It is this that disturbs the leader of the only other party in Japan with a program which might conceivably challenge Yoshida's Liberals. Tetsu Katayama, leader of the Social Democratic Party of Japan, told me here in San Francisco that he plans to call for dissolution of the Diet on his return to Japan in order to give the people an opportunity to express their opinion on the treaty and the security pact that have just been signed here. His real purpose in this is not so much to challenge the treaty as to obtain an opportunity to increase his strength in the Diet.

Katayama is worried about the effects of rearmament on the Japanese economy. He is also in doubt that Japan can maintain a viable economy without a substantial trade with Communist China. He frankly doubts the ability of the United States to provide adequate raw materials to Japan at reasonable prices. And he doesn't believe the *laissez faire* economy which the Liberal Party champions can sustain a decent standard of living for the Japanese.

If, as seems likely, there will be no new election in Japan until 1953, the degree to which the Yoshida Government remains faithful to the spirit of the new Japanese Constitution may depend upon the degree to which the United States, as chief sponsor of the new Japan, continues to assist in solving some of the economic problems which will be facing the Japanese Government during the next few years. For the best excuse a government can give for retrenching upon the freedoms of its people is economic necessity.

There is the problem of finding sufficient outlets for Japan's goods in world markets so that she can obtain the necessary foreign exchange for the imports so necessary for her industries and for her food supply.

There is the problem of obtaining the raw materials even if she has the foreign exchange. Raw materials are scarce in world markets as a result of the demands of war-preparedness.

There is the desperate problem of overpopulation. Japan has added nearly 15 million to her population since 1941, and she continues to grow at the rate of 1.5 million yearly. Immigration quotas play no significant part in reducing the population pressure, Mrs. Kato told me. They would have to be increased a hundred-fold and in many cases a thousand-fold before any appreciable dent would be made in the population problem.

The United States can help in all these matters, despite the fact that such help is bound to be begrudged in some quarters.

For example, the Japanese delegation to this conference was met by a fleet of 250 fishing boats which staged a parade in the bay just off the Golden Gate in protest against the importation by the US of tariff-free tuna. Japan is a large exporter of tariff-free tuna. Similarly,

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the American Cotton Manufacturers Institute is already viewing "with considerable trepidation" the effect of Japanese competition in world cotton-goods markets. And rumblings can already be heard in some quarters on the West Coast against any tampering with the present ridiculously low Japanese immigration quotas.

If the Japanese are to get any assistance in solving such problems as these from the US, it will require the greatest patience, forbearance and wisdom of which our government and our people are capable.

In more ways than one "the peace is a peace of trust," as John Foster Dulles has said. If we really want to create a Japan that we can trust we must see to it that we provide the Japanese with the basis for trust in ourselves. What Japan needs most is a period of economic assistance to offset the possibility of government retrenchment upon the freedoms guaranteed under the Constitution. Economic disaster could spell political tyranny almost overnight.

For this reason it would be very dangerous to regard the treaty as the means of casting off our responsibilities in Japan. From now on Japan is on her own; but the course she follows, so important to us and to peace, turns quite largely on the continued good will and generosity of the United States. DAVID K. EICHLER

(*David Eichler is former Deputy Secretary General of the Far Eastern Commission.*)

THE WEEK

CAB DEFIES THE SENATE

The Senator from Alabama, Mr. Sparkman, was angry. The usually placid Solon delayed his trip as a delegate to the San Francisco Conference to inform his colleagues just why; despite the strong report by the Senate Select Small Business Committee, the Civil Aeronautics Board is still bent on being servile to the interests of the large, certificated carriers.

"Clearly, the majority of the CAB seems bent on ignoring the Senate," he said. His reference was to a recent action of the CAB in issuing a "death warrant" for another non-scheduled air carrier, the Modern Air Transportation Company. The charge against the airline, flying too frequently and too regularly, was of the type which Senator Sparkman and his committee thought they had thoroughly quashed.

"By this decision," Sparkman told the Senate, "the CAB indicates that it is methodically following its old policy designed to liquidate the independent segment of the air-transportation industry, and it proposes to do this by enforcing a regulation which is patently impossible to comply with."

The failure of the CAB to develop a program to facilitate a mass civilian airlift has also raised the Senator's ire. He suggested that decisive legislative action, possibly revision of the Civil Aeronautics Act, might be the answer. "We have yet to see," he said, "any action by the board indicating that it is sincerely trying to expand civil aviation with broadest possible public services as its goal. Instead, we see continued the attitude of a board that is insensitive to the will of Congress and the needs of the community!"

BEVAN AT BLACKPOOL

The annual Trade Union Congress conferences at Blackpool have long been battlegrounds between shifting factions of Britain's eight million union members. This year the Left was gathered around Aneurin Bevan, the advocate of a "soft" rearmament policy, while the Right stood for the less spectacular promises held out by the Labour Government.

The various points in the Bevan program won support in direct proportion to how closely they touched on the immediate interests of the British worker. Thus the motion favoring a resumption of full East-West trade in defiance of US policy won only a slim 1.795 million votes, as against the 5.213 million which defeated it. The question of rearming Germany and Japan came somewhat closer to the unionists' solar plexus. The government forces defeated that attack by only 4.882 million to 2.608 million. But the closest vote came on a question directly applicable to Britain—that of free dentures and eye glasses. On this question the Bevanites came within a half million votes of censuring Minister of the Exchequer Hugh Gaitskell for imposing a fee on the provision of these symbols of Labour's social welfare plan.

But the Bevanite undercurrent was strong. Rising living costs have caused dissatisfaction with the government, and if the Bevanites could not carry votes for outright repudiation, they repeatedly moved more limited criticisms, a number of which were adopted. Few TUC members found comfort in Gaitskell's statement that there was a "little more extra cake to be cut." The belt-tightening ceremony has been repeated too many times to be accepted as a permanent remedy. The workers said in effect that they will support rearmament and try to boost production, but they want more pay and cheaper prices. This leaves it up to the government to pull something out of the hat. Unrationed rabbits, delegates complained, were selling at 10 shillings apiece.

THE FUND'S DECLINE

The latest report of the International Monetary Fund, the agency which aroused so much enthusiasm when it was first conceived at Bretton Woods, shows just how futile a loftily conceived in-

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stitution can become if it is not properly utilized. Since the United States conceived the Marshall Plan, the Fund has found itself increasingly neglected as a potential instrument for controlling the free world's finances. Now it is reduced to writing glowing reports on the improvement in the world balance of payment. The Fund long ago abdicated its formal powers in this field; the improvement it notes came about almost entirely because of the rearmament drives.

The Fund's activities these days are largely reduced to the sending of technical missions and the training of a dozen neophyte financial experts from underdeveloped countries. Its sale of member countries' currencies, originally intended as a prime means of maintaining world monetary stability, was practically nil. In the year ending last April 30, it bought $28 million worth of Brazilian cruzeiros and sold the same amount of pound sterling, a pitiful record for an institution with a potential capital of more than $8 billion.

The Fund's supposed control over its members' currencies has been little more impressive. Its authority was hard hit when the British devaluated their currency in 1949 without prior consultation. Since then only tiny countries like Ecuador and Paraguay have seriously sought Fund approval and aid in manipulations of their currency.

A great deal of the blame for the Fund's decline can be traced to American policy as directed by Treasury Secretary John Snyder, the former Missouri country banker. Snyder trusts the International Bank because it has always been headed by American bankers who believe in orthodox banking principles; that is why that institution has been able to expand its lending activities in a cautious way. But his lack of support of the Fund led to a refusal by its Belgian chairman, Camille Gutt, to accept another term of office "for personal reasons." Gutt's post has since been given to Ivar Rooth, who had left his former job as governor of the Swedish Central Bank because of policy differences with Sweden's Socialist Government. The Fund has also recently supported Snyder's stand against an upward revaluation of European currencies, as suggested in a report by the United Nations' Economic Commission for Europe.

Can the Fund get a new lease on life if it succeeds in winning stronger American support? At present, Washington is so unsure of what sort of world economic policy it wants, now that "free trade" has been largely abandoned, that support of imaginative new Fund programs is almost too much to expect from Snyder, even if they should be proposed. The annual meeting of the Fund's directors now in session should examine what consequential tasks it could assume under present conditions. Some critics have suggested that they dissolve the organization. Certainly the Fund cannot continue to exist indefinitely as a mere paper organization; at present it reflects on the prestige of all international organizations. The interests of its members, especially of the US, dictate that it be delegated functions more consistent with its original ambitious purpose.

BENTON v. McCARTHY

Sen. William Benton (D, Conn.) seems to be the only member of Congress courageous enough to call Sen. Joseph McCarthy's bluff. The Wisconsin Republican recently declared that he would resign if a "jury" failed to uphold his accusations that Philip C. Jessup, US Ambassador at large, had been affiliated with Communist-front organizations. Senator Benton immediately called on Attorney General J. Howard McGrath to direct a federal grand jury investigation of Senator McCarthy's charges.

In his letter to McGrath, Benton pointed out that McCarthy has said that he has names of 57 "card-carrying Communists" in the State Department and has stated, on several different occasions, that he had evidence indicating that 105, or 39 or 26 federal employees are disloyal or bad security risks. Benton asked McGrath whether or not McCarthy had volunteered to submit his alleged evidence of disloyalty to the Department of Justice or the US Attorney General. "If he does not volunteer," Benton asked, "could not any federal grand jury, which so desired, in view of Senator McCarthy's public claim to possess pertinent information, subpoena him and demand it?" The Justice Department is now preparing its reply.

Meanwhile, the Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections plans to hold hearings on Benton's resolution to remove McCarthy from the Senate before the end of this session. Benton feels that if the Senate doesn't actually expel McCarthy, at least "a resolution of censure would provide the moral grounds to encourage the voters of Wisconsin to expel him in 1952."

THANK YOU, MR. CONGRESSMAN

When President Truman reluctantly signed the new Defense Production Act, he called it the "worst bill" he had ever been forced to approve. He warned that it would not control prices or halt inflation. More recently, he recommended ways to strengthen the legislation. The corporations, with profits higher than ever before, are doing their best to keep the status quo, and that includes some new efforts at political action. For example, the Westinghouse Electric Corporation, with net income for the first half of 1951 at $31.5 million (as compared with $27.2 million for the same period of last year) recently sent this letter to its stockholders:

> . . . The outlook for the remainder of the year is good, largely because a group of Senators and Representatives in Congress—including both Democrats and Republicans—believed in the American free-enterprise system, understood its problems and had the courage to fight its battle. They realized the folly of the proposal to bar price relief on a limited group of manufactured products when no real effort was being made to hold the line on wage increases and the prices of some materials. . . .
>
> It took great courage for these Senators and Congressmen to vote for a realistic price-control act in the face of bitter attacks by spokesmen of various groups who supported the Administration's program. I suggest you look up the record of your Senators and Representatives and, if they joined the battle in our behalf, let them know that as a stockholder and part-owner of private industry you appreciate their efforts. We all, perhaps, are too ready to criticize our legislators when we disagree with them but too slow to tell them when we approve of what they do.

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Outside America

NO FASCIST REVIVAL

Positano, a remote and backward town of fishermen and peasants in the heart of the most feudal part of Southern Italy, seems a million miles removed from recent developments in the Cold War. Few places appear to be less linked, even indirectly, with the high-powered industrial mobilization of the United States, which led the London *Observer* to comment:

> Whether we like it or not, and whether she likes it or not, America is now rapidly becoming the center of the world, around which the Great Powers of yesterday will have to rearrange themselves together with the lesser powers and small nations.

Yet the fact remains that Positano, an ancient hill town perched on a steep slope between the Mediterranean waters which Homer called wine-dark and the dun-gray crags of the Salernitan Apennines, is directly connected with whether, and how seriously, President Truman and the American people take the new appeasement "line" of Marshal Stalin. One of the proofs is that the celebration of *Ferragosto*—the great annual fiesta—of Positano was unusually elaborate this year largely because of the American rearmament program.

The festival is one of the oldest in the world, and the people who celebrated it descend directly from still older ancestors. *Ferragosto* is the *Feriae Augustae* of the Romans celebrated originally on the *Kalendae Augustae*, the first of the month, but shifted later by the Roman Catholic Church to coincide with the celebration of the Assumption. Many of the Positanesi are descended from people who lived in the area before the Greeks came, centuries before the Christian era. They have since lived under many conquerors who came from afar—Normans, Hohenstaffens, Saracens, Carthagenians and later Nazi Germans. They have been liberated many times, most recently by Americans.

Once they were part of the rich and powerful Amalfitan Republic, but now the beauty of the nature surrounding them—the beauty of the siren land described by hundreds of writers since Homer's time—is their only richness. If the fisher folk and peasants who make up most of Positano's population had been called upon to foot the bill for this year's elaborate fiesta, there wouldn't have been any; certainly there wouldn't have been the gaudy display of lights, the fireworks, the bands, the fine costumes for the participants in the mock naval battle, or any of the new features. For poverty would be almost as grim in this beauty spot as it is where (in Carlo Levi's apt phrase) Christ stopped —at Eboli, just beyond the mountains, if it were not for one important fact.

The fact is that poverty has driven large numbers of Positanesi away—so many that part of the town is abandoned and called the *citta morta*. Most of them emigrated to the United States. Now there are more of them in America, especially in the industrial cities of New England, than there are left at home, in Italy. A certain amount of money has trickled back—most of it to the Church. But this year the trickle became a small stream, and what ECA help has not yet done either in Positano or in similar towns was accomplished—there was enough money not only for the home folks and for the Church but also to make the fiesta of the Madonna the biggest and best in history. The reason is that the former fishermen and peasants, who went to America, are profiting from the rearmament boom of the US.

If the former Positanesi had chosen the enemy in the mock naval battle, which was staged with colorful realism thanks to their generosity, they might well have made them Russians or at least Communists. But the Russians are not among the conquerors of whom the home folks have any traditional experience. So they stuck to the old practice of making the invaders Saracens and infidels. In Southern Italy, the peasants know only one traditional enemy—the *Turchi* (Turks), which is the general name for conquerors who have come in from the Eastern Mediterranean.

In Northern Italy, on the other hand, the traditional enemy for the peasant equivalents of the Positanesi has always been the *Tedeschi* (Germans), which is the general name for all conquerors of the North from the days of the Goths to those of the Nazis. And it is not without relevance to the present phase of the Cold War that a very large number of ordinary people, not only in Italy but all over Western Europe, still fear the Germans more than they do the Russians. Though America is almost universally regarded as a friend among such people, it will take both skill and tact on the part of the statesmen of the United States to get support for the view that the rise of Germany is *not* a great threat.

The gradual rise of a Right, which may turn militaristic, in most of Western Europe, also causes difficulties in England. The London *Observer* writes:

> The [Pleven] military-union plan will give rise to all the objections and doubts which were felt here about the Schuman Plan. As it stands at present, it provides only the weakest kind of democratic control. . . . If the Schuman Plan contains the danger of a technocratic, managerial dictatorship determining European economic policy, the European Army Plan contains the starker danger of a military dictatorship ultimately ruling Western Europe. What with the neo-Fascist and authoritarian trends in the countries concerned, and the possible later association with Spain, it is not entirely fanciful to imagine that, if military union goes through without our participation, we might one day find ourselves face to face, across the English Channel, with a new Fascist-militarist Great Power of 200 million people.

It is a major task of America as "the center of the world, around which the Great Powers of yesterday will have to rearrange themselves" to get and to give convincing proof that, in the task of frustrating the Soviet Union, as the other Great Power of today, no such new Great Power of Fascist-militarism will be created even in a distant tomorrow.

Salerno PERCY WINNER

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"TWO OLD MEN" OF THE SENATE

by Robert S. Allen

IT TAKES a mighty rugged constitution to be a State Department official these days. Besides undergoing frequent public sluggings by Sen. Joe McCarthy, there is also the little-known ordeal of being privately browbeaten and threatened by the "two old men" of the Senate Appropriations Committee.

They are Sen. Kenneth McKellar, 82-year-old Tennessean, chairman of the committee, and Sen. Pat McCarran, 75-year-old Nevadan, who heads three committees—Judiciary, Internal Security and the Appropriations Subcommittee in charge of the budgets of the State, Commerce and Justice Departments. McKellar has been on the government payroll, as a member of Congress, for 40 years; McCarran, for 22 years.

A graphic illustration of the kind of performance they stage behind the locked doors of their committee is the experience of three young State Department executives, each an outstanding success in his profession and each working in Washington at considerable personal sacrifice. They are Deputy Undersecretary Carlisle H. Humelsine, Assistant Secretary Edward W. Barrett and Foy D. Kohler, chief of the broadcasting of the Voice of America. Each was subjected to a ferocious hazing, during the course of which they were ordered, under dire threats, to violate the executive order issued by President Truman last year forbidding agencies to divulge the individual security records of employees without express White House approval. McKellar and McCarran demanded that this official regulation be disregarded.

The full story of what happened to these three young officials is recorded in the unpublished proceedings of the Senate Appropriations Committee. It explains why government leaders are finding it so difficult to prevail on promising youths to take responsible public jobs.

Humelsine was the first to "get the works." McCarran lashed into him with, "Will you give this committee the loyalty reports on every State Department employee connected with the Voice of America program? I want a yes or no answer."

"Senator, I have no individual discretion in that matter," replied Humelsine. "I am under the same restriction as everyone else in the State Department on this executive order. Only the President can release those confidential records. We don't have the power to do that."

"In other words," snapped McCarran, "we can't get those records."

"Not unless the President of the United States personally authorizes your having them," said Humelsine. "It is entirely up to him."

"Let me give you a little advice right here," broke in McKellar. "You had better tell the President to instruct you to give these things to this committee. If you don't, you're going to be in one hell of a fix. Is that clear to you?"

"And I want to add," declared McCarran, "that before I get finished I am going to show that there are people in your program who shouldn't be there. I'm going to have you all up before my Internal Security Committee for investigation."

"We welcome any investigation," interjected Barrett, head of the Voice of America.

Barrett's remark promptly brought the "two old men" down on his head. "I would like very much to have your background and loyalty record," cried McCarran. "I'd like to know all about you."

"That's easy," retorted Barrett. "My life is an open book."

"All right," shouted McCarran, "then answer this question. Are you connected with any socialistic or Communistic institutions?"

"Of course not," said Barrett. "I am not now and never have been. I have never belonged to any organization listed on any subversive list. During the war, I was deputy chief of psychological warfare in the Mediterranean theatre, and later I became editorial director of *Newsweek* magazine."

"What are your views on socialism and Communism?" demanded McKellar. "What about fellow travelers; are you for them or against them?"

"The reason I came to Washington at considerable personal sacrifice," answered Barrett, "was to fight Communism. If I hadn't felt so deeply about that, I wouldn't be here today."

"All right," said McCarran, "you are against Communism. Now turn over those loyalty files to us."

"Yes, give them to us," thundered McKellar. "We pay you, and we're entitled to this information. This order by someone else against doing that doesn't go very well with us. I want to warn you that you're hurting your own case when you refuse to give that information to this committee."

"We explained why we can't do that," said Barrett. "The President issued an executive order forbidding those records to be made public without his permission. We can't violate a regulation like that. We are whole-

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heartedly fighting Communism, but we can't defy the President of the United States and disobey an official order that he has issued."

"I'm not afraid of Communists in Russia," cried McKellar, "but I am afraid of Communists in America. I don't see a thing that your organization has done to fight Communists in America. That's what I'm interested in. By the way, are you a churchman?"

"Yes, sir."

"Are you a Presbyterian?"

"Yes, I happen to be a Presbyterian."

"Well," said McKellar, "nobody's going to change your religion, and you and your Voice of America aren't going to change anything either."

"And there is one thing you want to remember," concluded McCarran. "There is no compromise between Communism and democracy. Nothing can stop the Reds except war. That is my view and the view of many of us. I hold that view very, very seriously. Nothing will stop them except bullets, and the sword and the bayonet." (Neither McCarran nor McKellar of course has ever held a bayonet, let alone faced one. Humelsine and Barrett in contrast made brilliant records in the last war.)

Kohler was startled by McCarran demanding of him, "Whom do you know in the Russian Government?"

"Did you say Russian Government?" asked Kohler.

"That's what I said," retorted McCarran. "Whom do you know personally in the Russian Government?"

"I have no friends in the Russian Government," said Kohler. "I have met some Russian officials in the line of duty, such as Molotov, Gromyko, Vishinsky and Malik. But I have never met anyone in the Russian Government on an unofficial basis."

"This committee wants the names of Russians who have defected from the Communists," demanded McKellar.

"I will give you a list of names if we are assured you won't make them public," said Kohler. "But we can't give you names for publication because the lives of these people and their relatives in Russia would be placed in immediate jeopardy."

"That's no valid reason for not making them public," argued McKellar. "I don't know why you don't reveal those names to the world."

"Surely you wouldn't want us to jeopardize the welfare and possibly the lives of these people?" asked Kohler.

"I don't know about that," said McCarran. "I can't see your point of view on this matter."

"Let's subpoena all of them," McKellar concluded. "We'll show you who's boss around here."

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EUROPE THE BATTLEGROUND

II. The Responsibilities of Leadership

by Michael Straight

"HOW URGENT is the Communist danger?" I asked one of the wisest men in Europe, preparing to take down his passionate reply. "The danger," he answered quietly, "is not Communism but conservatism."

It is an urgent danger in the light of Europe's new tasks. Today rearmament is vital for Europe, yet if it is accomplished at the expense of living standards it will defeat its purpose. Only a rapid expansion of production can provide defense and recovery. But conservative Europe is organized to restrict, not to expand, production.

If European producers could close one-third of the gap between European and US productivity, they could raise production in Europe by $100 billion a year which is 10 times the total sum now allocated for European rearmament. Instead, the rate of increase of production is slowing down, and prices are rising sharply although Europe's output of armaments is small.

We speak of capitalism in Europe and America as if we lived under the same system. In fact, the two are wholly different. In America the majority of businessmen work to increase sales by providing more production at better values in our mass markets. Where monopoly has threatened competitive enterprise, its dangers have been recognized, and its actions outlawed. In contrast, restriction of production is the central purpose of what an American businessman, William Joyce of the ECA, describes as "that curious amalgam of guildism, statism and cartelism which is called capitalism in Western Europe." To its pattern of restriction, set by high-cost producers, trade unions, cooperatives and governments obediently and unthinkingly conform.

In 1900, according to Milton Katz of the ECA, "productivity in Europe and the United States was about equal. Today per-capita production in the United States is three, four and five times that of Europe." One hundred and sixty million people in the US produce $330 billion in goods and services each year. Two hundred and sixty million people in Western Europe produce $135 billion.

The reasons for Europe's relative decline are many. One is the contrast between the restless, competitive

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nature of Americans and the European tradition: *Au travaille en fait ce que l'on peut; a table on se force.* Yet, most Americans are European in origin, and what contrast exists derives from the presence of opportunity in America and its absence in Europe. Most Europeans work as long and as hard as Americans. They receive much less and produce much less because the capital invested in them is insufficient and poorly applied. "At most," M. Leon Dayton, ECA chief in Italy, told a group of Italian bankers recently, "only about eight percent of the total industrial capacity of this nation is being effectively utilized."

In the same way, in France national income rose by 35 percent between 1900 and 1913, and in 1939 was still at 1913 levels. "On the eve of World War II," Jean Monnet reported in 1947, "almost a third of our productive capacity was unemployed. The spirit of enterprise had been so weakened that investment barely covered replacement needs."

One aspect of conservatism which threatens Europe by perpetuating low productivity and class hatred is the perpetual warfare that dominates industrial relations. Industrial democracy is an unknown concept. In addition, as a class, the employers of Western Europe intensified prewar tensions by collaborating with the Nazis. Consequently, a total breach was opened between employers and workers which is not bridged today. Hatred on one side, fear and scorn on the other, shine like livid scars in all industrial relations.

The productivity of American workers is high partly because of the constructive purpose of collective bargaining as we practice it. "It reflects not only the capacity of men to harmonize discords," Joyce declared recently; "it also assumes the possibility of continuing progress." In contrast, Joyce added:

> This recognition that human relations are primary and pivotal is still lacking in altogether too many plants and workshops in France and Italy. . . . The brutal fact is that both French and Italian management still tend to look upon labor as a mass of inferiors whose hopes for a more ample life, economic and spiritual, can with impunity be disregarded and denied.

"The psychology of French and Italian management," Joyce continued, "tends to be more feudalistic than capitalistic." This feudal attitude extends far beyond industrial relations and confronts all attempted change. It is built into Europe's economy and passed on from generation to generation by the cartels which enforce rigid conformity, even among foreign investors, and which prevent young employers from breaking through with modern techniques and new ideas.

Every industry in France is organized under a "groupement," an industry association. The groupement sets wage and price policies. The groupement determines output and allocates scarce materials. An angry American businessman told me how, at the end of an inspection tour of a French steel plant, he had asked to see the sales department. "He's in Paris, talking to the groupement," the manager replied. The groupement takes all orders for the industry's products and distributes them among individual producers. Members in good standing are suitably rewarded. Manufacturers who try to produce more at lower prices are punished and brought into line.

It is hard, under any circumstances, to persuade individual manufacturers to take the risks of plant expansion necessary for the public interest. In the emergencies of 1940 and 1950 special institutions had to be created, and extraordinary incentives offered in order to induce American manufacturers to produce more. In Europe, where there is no government allocation of scarce materials and no Defense Plant Corporation to assume the risks of expansion, the task is doubly hard. The groupements, and the attitudes they induce in individual businessmen, make expansion harder still.

According to Dan Goldy, Deputy Director of the European Labor Division of ECA:

> ECA industrial engineers who have visited plants throughout Western Europe have observed cases where manufacturers are making in excess of 500-percent profits, wages average 20 to 24 cents per hour, prices are by our standards spectacularly high, and the manufacturers point out that with the investment of a little capital or a reorganization of work they could increase productivity substantially. "But," says the manufacturer, "what is the point in increasing productivity? I am already making all the profits I desire, and there is no reason to invest in labor-saving machinery as long as labor is so cheap." Moreover, he points out that even if he wanted to increase his volume of production, he would run head on against the rules laid down by the cartel of which he is a member and the head of which, more often than not, serves officially as the allocating agent on behalf of the government for raw materials in short supply.

The weight of government in Europe is placed behind the restriction of production through support of cartel-administered allocations systems. In addition, the governments of Europe defend restriction because they are substantial shareholders and participants in the cartels. In theory, the governments of Europe regulate the cartels. In practice, as in America, government regulation of industry tends to develop into industry domination of the regulatory agency. The dyestuffs cartel in France, for example, flourished under government control.

Further, taxes in Europe are designed to discourage

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mass production. Typical is the three-percent transactions tax, levied at each stage of Italian production, from the raw material to the finished product. It amounts to 25 percent, or more, of the price of most products and makes mass production unprofitable.

Lastly, low productivity is perpetuated by tariffs, quotas, import licenses and all the restrictive paraphernalia of economic nationalism, worked up by high-cost producers and enforced by the state. With no mass market to sell in, low-cost production and modern techniques of mass production cannot be introduced.

Monopoly, backed by government and buttressed by nationalism, is the undercover enemy of all that we are attempting in Europe. It is not mentioned in Congressional testimony. It is unheard of in our press. In Germany the worst cartels were cracked if not broken by military government. Elsewhere a frontal assault on monopoly has never been considered by the ECA.

The ECA has been reviled by its enemies for promoting socialism. The truth is, of course, that it has accepted the status quo in each nation, attaching the nozzle of dollars to whatever political and economic pipeline it found. In Britain, the ECA underwrote socialism; in Scandinavia, social democracy; in Portugal and Turkey, dictatorship; in France, Germany and Italy, conservative regimes.

The wastage and frustration resulting from monopoly was quickly seen by Paul Hoffman as the ECA Administrator. He insisted, with passion, that competition was the cure for poverty in Europe. Unable to intervene directly, he backed economic integration in Europe as the way to create a mass market in which competition could develop and mass production could flourish.

Through the Office of European Economic Co-operation, one-half of Europe's tariffs were torn down. Within each country, however, the OEEC and the ECA worked with the governments, through the cartels. The groupements formulated the national plans for each industry and forwarded them to the OEEC via their governments. The groupements allocated American aid to industrial producers via their national banks. Members of the groupements received American coal at standard rates; to outsiders it was only available at twice the groupement price.

In the early years of the ECA, it was necessary for the US to work solely through the governments of Europe, accepting their estimates of how much they could do. These governments were at first so weak that an attempt to work around them and to apply direct pressures might have fatally undermined their authority. In addition, the US lacked personnel experienced in the details of European life. A sense of our own limitations, and of the deep contrasts between the US and Europe, led internationalists in America to insist at all times that aid should be free of strings; that we should not export our ideas; that we should simply underwrite the efforts of European nations to work out their own problems in their own ways.

Now we face an altogether different time. The governments of Europe are well established. We have trained our staffs in the ECA. The goal is no longer Europe's economic independence of the US, but the realization of a common economic, political and military effort for survival. If we have years in which to perfect this effort, then no sense of urgency need drive us on. But if the essence of defense is speed, if a process of continued polarization of European politics into extremes of Left and Right seems to threaten Western unity and if this polarization derives from the needless inaction of European governments in the face of mounting problems, then the case for direct intervention grows. The old notion of diplomacy, that it is not polite to insist, becomes as archaic as the illusion that our productive techniques can be divorced from our social relationships and that we have nothing to contribute to Europe in the realm of attitudes and ideas.

The problem of intervention has become a key problem. It runs like a thread through all speeches of ECA officials. It inspired Senator Benton's amendment, backed by the ECA and passed by the Senate, tying aid to direct efforts to strengthen trade unions and break cartels. The shift in emphasis toward direct intervention is accentuated by the changing role of the US in Europe. At the military level we are intervening in a revolutionary way in placing European armed forces under the command of an American general. At the military level also, 400,000 American soldiers are establishing new homes in Europe. The US Army intervenes directly throughout Europe as an employer and a consumer on a very large scale.

At the economic level, the first step toward direct intervention has been taken in making it clear to Europeans that the US is *not* intervening on the wrong side. Until now, a favorite strategy of conservative governments to justify their own inaction has been to attribute this inaction to the US. "Many things we would have liked to do we could not do because of public opinion in America," they have told their peoples. "Many things we did not want to do we were forced to do by our American friends." *Their* friends in our Congress and among our press, who equate reform and revolution, have made this deception possible. The Communists, of course, have used it as a major weapon to arouse hatred of America among Europeans. Only recently have ECA leaders, like Leon Dayton, made it clear to Europeans that if they are

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exploited, they have themselves and not America to blame. The response has been explosive, with angry protests from governments and employers' associations and grateful letters by the thousands from Europeans who never wrote to political leaders before.

There is a tremendous response in Europe, awaiting bold leadership. The opportunity for America has been stated with precision by Dan Goldy:

> The basic character of our European aid program will undoubtedly change in the months ahead. The kind of aid required will become less and less a matter of billions of dollars poured into Europe than of sharing with Europe our technical skills. *Through judicious administration of this aid it should be possible to fan the spark of industrial revolution so that the economies of Western European countries take on something of the dynamic quality that has characterized the American economy.* [Italics mine.]

Intervention in this sense would imply advancing beyond the traditional methods of diplomacy and the traditional concept of governments dealing only with each other. It would mean identifying the US openly with the concept of progressive capitalism. It would mean placing the whole weight of the US behind this concept in Europe. This would not imply efforts to undo the work of nationalization in mixed economies. It would imply full support of the trade unions, the manufacturers, the farm groups and research institutions willing to apply the techniques of an expansionist economy.

The means which the ECA proposes is the new productivity program developed by Joyce. Among the reasons for low productivity which the program will directly combat, it identifies cartels, class tensions, low wages and restrictive union rules. A basic ECA memorandum on the program states:

> The scope of the program must be expanded to cover not only technological improvements but also business practices and labor practices related to distribution of the benefits of high productivity. . . . Wherever possible the projects should be carried out in such a way that the resulting wage rates in the particular plants involved will be significantly higher than the standard for the industry and the prices of the product will be significantly lower than the prevailing price on competitive products. All ECA personnel should clearly understand that a major purpose of the program is to increase wages and decrease prices where increased productivity warrants in the interests of an expanding economy.

This program envisages aid granted directly to young and progressive manufacturers who will accept and implement technical advice, institute collective bargaining, and produce at fair prices. If these manufacturers are threatened with loss of raw-material supplies by the groupements, then further action may be taken to ensure that they receive raw materials. Obviously the program raises explosive issues. At the same time, it ensures that our aid will be used for the purposes for which it is granted. If the scale of our aid is great, as it will be if economic aid survives Congress and if military aid includes the letting of contracts in Europe, then our leverage will be great. Under the Benton amendment, which assumes that induced reform is the alternative to revolution, this leverage will be used.

The case for direct economic action is strong. It is advanced by every type of European. Bankers will plead in private for Americans to act where Frenchmen and Italians cannot, to break the monopolies and to set minimum social standards. A trade-union organizer in Southern Italy pleaded with me that we should recognize the necessity of an open and enlightened imperialism. "Law does not exist in a vacuum!" he cried. "Law exists, where there is power to enforce the law! You alone have that power. You cannot avoid the responsibilities of leadership."

In Italy where government is inert, more active US leadership would be generally welcomed. In Britain and Scandinavia, intervention is unnecessary. What is best for France, where some force must wrench the hand off the brakes? If the need is felt, the opposition is also plain. The productivity campaign which injects modern methods and ideas into a feudal system is bitterly fought by the Communists as a war-inspired speed up. It is resisted also by the de Gaullists and the groupements. To open the wage, profit and tax structures, and to question the social structure of France, is to invite bitter reprisals from the Right, both in France and the US. Already the French employers' associations have set their ally, the NAM, to work in discrediting the productivity campaign.

If necessary action involves political battles, that is not an argument for inaction. The real arguments against intervention are twofold.

The first is that once we start direct economic intervention there is no clear stopping place, and no clear limit to the claims on our limited personnel.

The second is that if a nation as large as America intervenes directly and separately with the small nations of Europe, then, even if the objective is to secure their independence of the US, a trend toward their satellization by the US will set in.

Both these arguments point to one solution—European Union.

European Union alone can offset the trend toward satellization which necessary intervention by the US sets in motion.

European Union alone can create a new environment

(Continued on page 23)

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WHO WANTS TO RETIRE?

by Jean Begeman

THERE ARE today in the US approximately 13 million persons 65 years of age or over. Those retiring at 65 now have an average of 13 years of life remaining, and half of them will live longer. Because of the ever-increasing manpower needs during this defense-production period, a group of Congressmen has volunteered to probe every aspect of the utilization of oldsters in our labor force. Rep. Sidney Yates (D, Ill.) has focused Congressional attention on the problem of the aged by appointing an informal committee, composed of Representatives from 28 states, to gather material locally and help prepare a sound national program to create new opportunities during the next session of Congress for our senior citizens. A group of world authorities is attacking this problem of the aged at an International Gerontological Conference now meeting in St. Louis.

Representative Yates recently told his colleagues, "Sometimes I think that we are dangerously close to the old Eskimo custom of banishing the aged—of furnishing them with a little food and then leaving them alone on the edge of the community to die. If they need it, we give them a little money—and remember that the average old-age pension in this country today is $43.31 per *month*. Then we isolate them. Then forget them."

Primarily because of modern medical emphasis on longevity, there are now three million more old folks in the US than there were 10 years ago. Each year the number increases, and, with the new popularity of blackstrap molasses and wheat germ, there's no telling how high that figure may climb! The steady increase in the number of the aged underlines a strange paradox —we are living longer, but our working lives are getting shorter. In 1890, 65 percent of all men over 65 were employed. By 1950, only 43 percent held jobs. "Unless we can reverse the trend," Yates believes, "by the year 1975, a man of 20 will look forward on the average to at least one year of retirement for each six years of his working life. It won't be long before our younger workers will be carrying the rest of the population on their backs."

Some of the statistics compiled by Yates destroy such myths as the idea that social security and private pension benefits furnish adequate income to take care of oldsters or that old people can find a job if they are willing and able to work.

He points out:

¶ Only one out of five of our aged persons has enough cash income to enable them to live in health and in happy surroundings, and more than one-half of these people are trying to exist on less than $1,000 per year.

¶ Today a person aged 65 must have accumulated about $17,000 to have an income of $100 per month for the rest of his life—even so, it will require use of the entire principal and all interest to do so.

¶ About 40 percent of all people 65 or over need help from outside sources to insure a decent existence.

¶ Only seven million workers are covered by private industrial pension plans; 55 million workers are not.

¶ The odds against a person 45 years old or over finding a new job are six to one, even today when we are in a tight labor market.

The discrimination against old people in the labor field is the major problem Yates's unofficial committee means to attack. Four years ago the National Association of Manufacturers and the US Chamber of Commerce conducted a survey of 279 large companies. Two-thirds of the companies stated that they did not hire new job applicants who were 45 years of age or over. Last year, a Department of Labor survey of 340,000 older workers and a large number of employers showed that discrimination in hiring because of age starts with women at age 35 and men at age 40 or 45.

Yates believes that we must find a way to "break down the unrealistic attitude that age prevents good work." He points out that labor has already done some constructive thinking about forced retirement. CIO President Philip Murray (age 65) and AFL President William Green (age 78) have gone on record as opposed to the arbitrary retirement age. A scheme of "gradual retirement" now in effect at the William Wrigley Jr. Company in Chicago, Yates believes, is a "sensible way of taking advantage of older-worker experience and allowing the aging worker to taper off as his capabilities decline." Wrigley employees at age 65 are given a one-month vacation, the following year, two months, and so on until retirement is complete.

Premature retirement, geriatricians have long held, can itself be a major cause of disease. New York State Health Commissioner Herman E. Hilleboe, testifying before a state committee on problems of the aging, said, "Very often the old person does not deteriorate physically and mentally until he is told his usefulness is past and is asked to retire. Then the meaning goes out of life, and he begins to reach for the hand of death."

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Ruth Albrecht, an authority on oldsters, divides them into five groups: those who are "too young to be old," persons alert and active, mentally and physically; those who "feel old" but still have keen minds and bodies sound enough for an active life; those who suffer from chronic illness which is partially or totally disabling, but whose minds are clear; those who are in good physical condition, but whose memory is not as good as it used to be and who sometimes become confused; and those who are almost completely dependent due to senility (only 10 percent of the total falls in this last category). The first two groups include half of the total number of old people who are capable right now of being productive members of their communities. Many of the others, in the third and fourth groups, need only encouragement and opportunity to become productive.

When employers are asked why they object to hiring elder people, the stock answer is: "They get sick too often." The Bureau of Labor Statistics found the opposite to be true when it investigated the usefulness of older workers in manufacturing industries during World War II. The BLS survey showed that workers over 65 lost less working time than those in their teens and twenties, and that handicapping injuries, which required only first aid, were less common at 50 or over than in the younger age groups.

Ewan Clague, US Commissioner of Labor Statistics, says that "many of the physical changes associated with age not only tend to occur more slowly than we once supposed, but also interfere less than we would expect with performance on the job. . . . Many an oldster has keener hearing and better vision than an average man 20 or more years his junior."

Yates firmly believes that the whole problem of retirement should be re-examined. "We need to recognize that many men and women over 65 want a job, need a job, and could perform a job," he says. "But they are excluded from jobs arbitrarily because of their age." When a New York newspaper, for example, recently ran an ad offering a messenger's job to a "retired man," more than 250 applicants responded. Among those applying for the $34-a-week job were retired ministers and teachers, 25 retired firemen and policemen, 20 former postal employees, ex-Civil Service workers, partially disabled veterans, a former chemist and two men who used to have their own grocery and real-estate firms. "It scares me," said the employer, "to think that so many men of that age need this kind of money."

Representative Yates, in recommending a Congressional Conference on the Aging, has cited several necessary changes in legislation. For example, the public-housing provision in the National Housing Act specifically bars oldsters from public projects with the clause that only "families" may occupy the dwellings. "Millions of our aged are living in dismal and inadequate quarters," Yates points out. A survey of old-age pensioners in Chicago showed that 62 percent live in rented units; 15 percent, in rooms with no cooking facilities; 10 percent, in board-and-room houses; five percent, in private and public nursing homes; four percent, in homes owned by themselves; and four percent, in homes owned by their children or other relatives. The average monthly rental paid by the aged was found to be $14.18. Yates would like to see some of the legislation that now carries special provisions for "veterans" also to include the aged.

Although social-security benefits doubled in 1950, the average monthly payment to an elderly couple under old-age and survivors' insurance is now only $75 a month. With or without inflation, this sum is inadequate. In addition, one out of every four jobs is not covered by social security. Yates believes:

> We will not have reached our goal until we have achieved universal coverage. Moreover, the system of total and permanent disability insurance which the House bill contained was struck out by the Senate and was not enacted into law. The result is that thousands of workers, prematurely retired from their jobs by an expensive and totally disabling accident or illness, are not eligible for benefits until they reach 65, regardless of their need or of the contributions they have made through the payroll tax. Some will even lose the right to that benefit at age 65, because an unpredictable disablement has removed them permanently from a payroll.

There are many other laws affecting the aged which should be revised—laws relating to health, education and community projects. Yates has told House members who will head the local conferences on aging throughout the country after Congress adjourns October 1:

> We need data on kinds of employment, on the employability of aged workers, and on rehabilitation schemes which will restore hope and health to many of our oldsters. We must have more information on their living and housing arrangements, their recreational activities, and their participation in community life. We should know more about the relationship of calendar age to the capacities and needs of individual workers—the implications of compulsory retirement and its effect on job opportunities for the near-aged. We must modernize our thinking, and recognize the effect of recent technological changes, of shifts in demands for labor, of shrinkage in opportunity for self-employment on the problems of aging.

The hope is that the community conferences will lead to the creation by Congress of a Select Committee on the Aging next year. More than 10 states already have similar permanent committees in operation. But this is a national problem which requires a national solution.

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HAROLD L. ICKES: *A Fig Leaf for McCarthy*

ONCE AGAIN Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy has been guilty of indecent intellectual exposure. The Senators who recently held public hearings to consider standards for ethical behavior in the executive and legislative branches of the government might do something about McCarthyism. That the Senate needs a code of official morals seems to be clear inasmuch as many Senators appear to think so. But while an engraved code of propriety, nicely framed, would decorate the walls of the Senate Chamber, it might be even more helpful if the Senate would provide smelling salts in its budget for visitors to the galleries when McCarthy is befouling that chamber. His associates may be accustomed to the repellent odor, but visitors are not likely to be unless they work in the stockyards or a glue factory.

The latest amendment to McCarthyism is the suggestion that Secretary of State Acheson and Ambassador Jessup submit themselves to trial before a jury with McCarthy himself acting the role of prosecutor. If the jury finds against McCarthy's victims, they and an undisclosed number of other State Department employees are to resign. If the verdict favors the accused, McCarthy will resign his seat in the Senate, or so he pretends. There is no price too high to pay for the abstention from the Senate of the political gangster from Wisconsin, and yet it would be foolish to believe that McCarthy would make good on his promise. If he ever should try to make good on all his unkept promises, he would find himself deeper in moral bankruptcy. As it is, he does not have enough moral assets to pay a mill on the dollar.

It is said that the political charlatan from Wisconsin was once a judge. (Ye gods and little fishes!) If so, the presumption is that somewhere, sometime, he studied law. Yet, if he ever took even a rudimentary course in law he must know that he has no power to impanel a jury. He must know, too, that there is no court in the land that would not promptly throw out any case that he might try to present against Messrs. Acheson and Jessup. This latest hoax employs language that might have the effect that McCarthy was striving for, namely, the befuddlement of the ignorant and the unthinking. This cheap claptrap makes less sense than usual, even for McCarthy. He might just as well have demanded a trial by ordeal.

According to the Associated Press, "McCarthy flung his challenge of 'trial by jury' at the 52nd National Convention of the Veterans of Foreign Wars." This language, whether designedly or not, was likely to be misunderstood, as McCarthy undoubtedly hoped that his phony "challenge" would be. How could McCarthy fling "his challenge of trial by jury" when there could not possibly be such a trial, as the Associated Press must well have known. With this start we can expect McCarthy to ring the changes on this latest addition to his numerous progeny of lies—for that it is a lie by deliberate implication is clear.

However, sooner or later, the people will catch up with this notorious Jack Ketch of character and well-earned reputations in high public office. His is not a trade in which an honorable man would choose to engage. No one in American history has tried so hard to betray the people by deliberately lying to them, but what Lincoln said is still true, that "you cannot fool all of the people all of the time."

How often has McCarthy promised to repeat, from some other forum than the Senate, his reckless and, to date, unverified and unverifiable libels against patriotic men who are the more to be respected because they have been targets of his animosity?

If the congenital liar from Wisconsin really wants to get into court, which he would avoid at any cost, I will tell him how to do it. Let him waive his Senatorial immunity in the suit for libel that has been filed against him by Drew Pearson. Another way would be to repeat, in a public forum, some of the defamations in which he has indulged on the floor of the Senate under the cloak of immunity. He has said on occasion that he would either do this or resign. Characteristically, he has done neither. However, justice and fair play require that he be haled into court as a defendant to justify his obscenities against the institutions of his country, to answer for the undoubted support that he has been giving Russia by his monstrous prevarications, and in order to give the people whom he has libeled a chance to prove to the country what, in large measure, it already suspects, namely, that he is a shameless liar.

McCarthy pretends to be eager to go into court to prove some of his smearing charges. Without asking for a retainer but as a public service, I have shown him the way, although realizing the fact that his real desire is to give the court, any court, the widest possible berth. However, it is not necessary for McCarthy to go into court to prove that "once a political guttersnipe, always a political guttersnipe."

HAROLD L. ICKES

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

BIO-MYTHOLOGY FOR THE MILLIONS

by Anthony Barnett

THE SOCIAL AND BIOLOGICAL CHALLENGE OF OUR AGING POPULATION. Proceedings of the Eastern States Health Education Conference, March 31-April 1, 1949 (Columbia University Press; $2.75).

HUMAN FERTILITY, THE MODERN DILEMMA, by Robert C. Cook (William Sloane Associates; $4.50).

POPULATION ON THE LOOSE, by Elmer Pendell (Wilfred Funk; $3.75).

ONE OF THE most encouraging features of our present confused world is that we can view the needs of humanity as a whole, and can suggest means of satisfying them. Apart from war, the most urgent world problems are those which result from the disturbed sociological balance due to the partial application of science to human communities. One of the major triumphs of applied science in advanced countries has been the prevention of the main causes of death and sickness among people aged one to fifty. Biologically, it is misleading to speak of our *aging* population; we remain alive, and young, for longer than our ancestors, and so in countries like the United States the most important diseases are coming to be those which kill or cripple during the second fifty years of life.

But these problems of longevity are secondary to the new demands on our resources, especially food resources. Today we are no longer content that anyone should have less than an optimum diet, and biochemistry acts as a pacemaker for world food production and distribution. It can be claimed that, if all our energy and ability were devoted to good ends, there could be a great and rapid improvement in health and living standards for the whole of the world's population. This claim is vigorously attacked in the West on the Malthusian grounds that human fertility would immediately nullify the effects of increased food production. It is a fact, however, that the countries with the highest living standards have the lowest fertility: in Western Europe and North America the populations are tending toward a position in which births and deaths exactly balance. But this does not comfort the neo-Malthusians: they see little hope that such a state will soon be reached elsewhere, and the lowered fertility of their own class gives them further cause for alarm.

This is because, in many countries of the West, the poor produce more babies than the rich and—according to some authorities—the unintelligent have more babies than the intelligent. Robert C. Cook and Elmer Pendell thus find two menaces threatening humanity which have this in common: that it is always the wrong people who are reproducing at the higher rates. The Asian hordes of the East and the working classes of the West retain a higher fertility than the white middle and upper classes.

This is a tendentious way of putting the familiar propositions of over-population and declining intelligence. Is it justified? Let us take the question of intelligence first. The argument is based on measures of intelligence quotient, itself a controversial entity; and it depends on the fact that the children of the rich are fewer, and have higher IQs on the average, than those of the poor; it is assumed, with doubtful justification, that the difference in IQ is in large part inherited. The argument further ignores the fact that persons of extremely high *or low* IQ are of low fertility, thus exemplifying the general biological rule that all oddities tend to have lowered fertility. The implication of this rule is that, whatever we do, we must expect a considerable proportion of our most able men and women to come from parents of markedly lower attainments.

This argument is all deductive, but three recent British inquiries have now thrown some light on what has been happening to the IQ in England, Scotland and Wales. They all show the same thing: that the IQ has risen slightly during the past two decades. It is fair to say that Mr. Cook mentions one of these investigations, but he still clings to the belief in declining intelligence. It is indeed ludicrous that so much fuss should be made about a most dubious decline in intelligence, while vast reservoirs of ability among the children of the poor remain almost untapped.

But when we come to depressed nations we seem to be faced with this other menace, that of over-population. This unlike the other, is a genuine problem: it is undeniable that there is too little food in the world; and it is unquestionable that human populations can sometimes increase very rapidly. The conventional argument states that the possibilities of increasing human numbers are severely limited by the amount of food we can produce; and that wherever food supplies are improved or death rates reduced, reproduction will soon again bring men to the edge of famine.

Neither assertion is justified. We do not know how much food we can produce, because we have not yet seriously applied scientific method on a large scale to the problem. Fundamentally, our present methods of food production are the same as those of the neolithic men who invented agriculture perhaps 8,000 years ago; they have undergone no such change as has industrial production in the past two centuries. As for the inevitability of increasing numbers, Western experience is to the contrary: we know that, even in the absence of the condom and rubber cap, which Messrs. Cook and Pendell are so eager to sell to the millions of the East, fertility has declined drastically in the countries in which there have been powerful motives for family limitation.

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This does not mean that there is no problem. Indeed, the problem is in one respect greater than our neo-Malthusians make out. For as soon as we turn to science for the solution, we see at once vast obstacles in the way. These obstacles are made by man, not by nature. If new means of making food are devised, will they be used? At present, they would probably be held to be secrets of national importance and locked away in governmental archives. Even apart from secrecy, it is not the limitations of science that lead to food hoarding while millions starve, or to plans for limiting the US wheat crop.

A West African student, hearing at a lecture of the hoarding of food in North America, remarked that in his country it would be considered wicked to keep food back if others needed it; he suggested that perhaps Africa ought to begin sending missionaries to the countries of the whites. Missionaries, however, seldom do much good, in any continent. To bring people to effective action it is necessary to confront them with hard facts. The only one of these three books which can be recommended is the soberly presented symposium on aging, in which a group of scientists give an honest account of what can be done for health and happiness in the later decades of life. Unfortunately, there is little doubt that of the three it will have the lowest sale.

Anthony Barnett, an Oxford (England) biologist who specialized in embryology before the war, was for five years head of a pest-control-research unit, and is now teaching at the University of Glasgow. He is the author of The Human Species, *a biology of man for the general reader.*

POET AND MAGE

THE COLLECTED POEMS OF WILLIAM BUTLER YEATS (Macmillan; $5).

THE FIRST EDITION of the *Collected Poems* (1933) broke off with the *The Winding Stair* volume, published in the same year. The final collected edition adds to the earlier work the poetry written by Yeats from about 1935 to 1939, the year of his death. This additional material embodies, therefore, the last preoccupations, as well as the last stylistic development of the great Anglo-Irishman, born in 1865, whose first book appeared in 1889. The record is thus closed of a long career spent almost exclusively in furthering the ideals of disinterested art in a period marked by triumphs of rationalism and of the machine; the cause of the individual in a time of human depersonalization; and the cause of a small nation in a period given over to various forms of imperialism. The means that Yeats chose to achieve his ends have often been derided; and it is true that his "magician" side often brought about curious shifts in his conduct and thinking. His life, moreover, does not follow any conventional pattern of peace found after conflict, of humility following after pride, of spiritual reconciliation in age. But if the last poems often present the picture of a pride-ridden old man who clings to his crankiness with an almost insane zeal, they also present an old poet continuing to explore his complicated nature and his complicated times up to the last—while extending the limits of his art with unflagging ingenuity, subtlety and daring.

Yeats never "adjusted" to the conditions of his age or of his society. He not only constructed a religion for himself, but he spent many years "docketing the universe": building a picture of time, space and causality which fitted the needs (and no doubt quieted the fears) of his own peculiar temperament. His ideals were both spiritual and aristocratic; he scorned the middle class, giving his allegiance to peasant and aristocrat; and he wasted neither time nor sympathy on "passive suffering" or ideas of human progress. In his universe, built in the form of a Great Wheel, man's soul went through successive incarnations—bound to an impersonal fate, but rescued by the possibility of a personal destiny. This destiny left man freedom to act and to create—to oppose the work of the spirit to the mechanisms of nature.

It was the failure of mankind in general—and of Irishmen in particular—to grasp and forward this destiny that provoked in Yeats, as time passed, an increasing bitterness and irritability. He himself had taken on discipline early; he had put off his youthful dreams and spent years working in the more practical side of the drama, at the Abbey Theatre. But in the field of art an Irish middle class, newly come into power, let him down; and Irish politics took a turn of which he did not approve. Because of these struggles against opposition, Yeats's wit, shrewdness and powers of intellect began, in his middle years, to develop and come into view. He began to write with ease concerning the contemporary scene, and to display his prejudices without fear. From *Responsibilities* (1914) on, his mind became infinitely restless and ceaselessly inquisitive. He also developed, along with growing powers of invective, a kind of magnanimity—a magnanimity, it is true, which worked best in retrospect. In the poems written on the Easter Rebellion of 1916, he was able to celebrate the heroism of his enemies as well as of his friends; and his later work is filled with praise of human nobility, wherever found.

Around 1935, after years spent in efforts to compromise with the Irish Free State government, under which he had served as a Senator, he came perilously near adopting ideas of undemocratic coercion and force. He quickly withdrew from this position; and the only trace of his passing belief in "marching men" comes through in the extravagant marching songs. In the years from 1936 to 1939 he experienced a tremendous renewal of poetic power. This renewal expressed itself in two definite, and opposed, poetic manners. On the one hand, he began to elaborate poems of the "Crazy Jane" variety, in which, to old broad-sheet rhythms, unstinted praise of coarse human vitality is set against the powers of church, state and, indeed, every ordinary form of orderly life. At the same time he continued to produce, in his more "lofty" style, celebrations of human greatness, usually in the form of elegies to the past glories of his own generation. He flaunted "an old man's frenzy" and an old man's pride; but if he often pushed intensity toward harshness, he instinctively kept to intensity, knowing that without passion no art can live. Even in the midst of his die-hard show—which at moments verged

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on the theatrical—he slipped in passages of self-mockery bred of self-knowledge; and beneath his praise of crude human vitality a new note of pathos can be detected. Something stiff, divided and hieratic drops away from the personality. The wiles of the old magician are transcended; and the final impression is one of a self-fulfilled artist using, up to the end, for selfless purposes, the unbroken spirit of an indomitable man. LOUISE BOGAN

Louise Bogan, poetry reviewer for The New Yorker since 1931, has published four books of poetry.

THE BRIEFCASE MAN

WHITE COLLAR, by C. Wright Mills (Oxford University Press; $5).

THE NOTION that the middle class is economically and politically powerful is still a vital element in the American myth. People believe in it despite sociologic evidence to the contrary simply because a large part of the nation's income flows to middle-class persons. Even though the occupational lineup shifted from the small independent businessman to the salesman and the technician, new rationalizations were invented to sustain the idea of middle-class strength —that the white-collar man is a buffer between capital and labor or that he represents a stable factor in a volatile society.

C. Wright Mills, a professor of sociology who is known for a fresh, jargonless approach, examines in this important book the complex matrix of notions implied by the words "white collar." His conclusion that the white-collar worker is no man of power is superbly illustrated by the photograph on the book jacket: the image is one of a little fellow in heavy coat hurrying with lunch package past massive Doric columns of some banking house.

Mills demonstrates conclusively that income is no sure measure of class power. There are other facts, psychological and political, that must be gathered before we decide whether the white-collar man (he who wears Sunday clothes to work) counts for much in the modern world. While this new class is propertyless, it is no collection of paupers, for it is able to sell services and personalities, if not goods. It has little to do with the creation of commodities, yet through salesmanship and advertising it successfully manipulates people and symbols. Permeating these procedures, which Mills shows become more impersonal and more institutionalized, there is an endless struggle for prestige, status and intangible honors, expressed in the formation of office hierarchies and white-collar pyramids in which the emphasis is on youth ("never hire a man over 40"), education ("gotta be a college man to sell here") and American birth ("only Anglo-Saxons wanted").

This new economic and social realm must be controlled and directed, and it is this need that gives rise to what Professor Mills calls the managerial demiurge. New bureaucracies grow up in both business and government and, says the author, their myriad feet interlock in "wonderfully complex ways" as they face each other across the bargaining tables of power. More control creates more centralization: there is little room left for the old-style capital-risking businessman. Only the "live wire" personality who offers nothing but advice remains as an independent operator. Functioning in the interstices of business and government, he sells contacts for a fee.

Slightly lower in the white-collar scale is the professional. It is in these chapters, which graphically reveal the social behavior of the doctor, the lawyer, the teacher and the intellectual, that Mills is at his best. These sections are truly brilliant: they remind one of the incisively caustic writing that was so characteristic of Veblen. The managerial demiurge, says Mills, builds bureaucracies even among doctors, whose increasing specializations demand pyramids of technicians, therapists, nurses and administrators. The big law office, with its seniors, associates and numerous clerks, further illustrates the centralization of white-collar skills. And in the universities, Mills notes, a parallel development is now taking place: status based on administration replaces the scholarship hierarchy.

These changes are discernible too in the major white-collar occupations, the salesperson and the office worker. The skill of selling becomes important in our society because businessmen no longer employ price competition to move goods from the counters. The customer must now be convinced of the desirability of the package for its own sake, and this requires a certain kind of personality. The frightening thing here is that such personalities can be created through almost mechanical techniques so that even " . . . the last autonomous feature of selling, the art of persuasion and the sales personality becomes expropriated from the individual salesman." Capitalism began by alienating the worker from his tools and his product; it now alienates man from himself, and the outcome is the faceless man of the future.

This book is the product of solid thinking and good writing, exhibiting a perception of society that is not often met with in works of this kind. It offers an absorbing though sometimes bitter picture of the new white-collar middle-class personality. In a number of places, however, the author is only suggestive; one would have liked, for example, a fuller discussion of the accumulation of power or of the new literature of resignation (*The Hucksters*, *The Big Wheel*) or of social hierarchies in a permanent war economy. But this is asking for more of a good thing.

BEN B. SELIGMAN

Ben B. Seligman, economist and statistician, was formerly on the faculty of Brooklyn College. He is currently engaged in population research.

TWO ENGLISH NOVELS

THE LIMIT, by Ada Leverson (Norton; $3).

THE FACE OF INNOCENCE, by William Sansom (Harcourt, Brace; $3).

THROUGH the years the British have built a high reputation for light, readable novels of manners, usually done with a taste, perception and nicety of style that set them well above the average American popular novel. These two books are a striking example of the fact that the genre has been a constant one. Ada Leverson, the friend of Wilde, Beerbohm and Beardsley and a contributor to *The Yellow Book*, wrote six novels between 1908 and 1916, of which *The Limit*, now published for the first time in this country, was one. William Sansom, an Englishman in his late thirties, published his first novel, *The Body*, last year. Yet the ties between *The Limit* and *The Face of Inno-*

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cence are far closer than the time between their conceptions. Both are studies of a British upper-middle-class marriage, serene on the surface but just below threatened by the wife's dissatisfaction with the prosaic, solid qualities of her husband (on which we have so often been told so much of Britain's strength rests) and her own longing for romance. Romer Wyburn, Mrs. Leverson's hero, and Harry Camberley, the husband in Mr. Sansom's story, are two different portraits of the same essentially decent, inarticulate type which has apparently changed little through two world wars. Valentia Wyburn, though, is more brilliant, more beautiful and less complicated than Eve Camberley, who wears the face of innocence while she searches desperately for the glamor that will lift her above the drabness of reality. Both marriages are saved when the wives recognize the illusion they have followed and the real worth of what they have. And both books are written with wit and observation. They neatly skirt tragedy with good manners and for an instant bring the reader startlingly close to the characters (although here Mrs. Leverson is more successful since Romer achieves a dimension which is lacking in Harry). Both are filled with a galaxy of happily touched-off, colorful minor characters.

Mrs. Leverson's performance is the showier. In the best Edwardian tradition (the jacket blurbs with some justification compare her to Saki, Firbank and Beerbohm, though she falls below all of these at their best), she polishes her phrases and insights so that we are told that "Mrs. Luscombe, the mother, was so refined that there was scarcely anything of her . . . she had learnt the act of self-effacement to the point of showing no trace of being there at all," and produces a number of scenes that make one laugh aloud. At the same time her climax cuts closer to the bone than Sansom's, although his includes an illegitimate child and hers no more than a breath of scandal. Sansom's forte lies in his ability to catch changing atmospheres, and their effects on the characters involved, as his scene of action shifts from London to the English countryside to the Riviera to North Africa. Both books carry the reader painlessly along with them, and both writers belong close to the top of the minor league. ANNE L. GOODMAN

Books in Brief

Dizzy, by Hesketh Pearson (Harper; $4).

The tone of this "Life and Personality of Benjamin Disraeli" is given by its title. It is an intimate, affectionate book, full of personalities, witty sayings, moments of flashing conflict. Disraeli was an actor, a type Pearson evidently enjoys sketching, for he has already done Shaw and Wilde. The personality is, as it were, ready made. What he produces here is certainly beguiling and accurate so far as it goes. It will appear beside many sofas but it may not be taken down much from library shelves.

The New You and Heredity, by Amram Scheinfeld (Lippincott; $5).

Twelve years ago, Amram Scheinfeld published a popular summary of the principles of genetics, *You and Heredity*. Now, under an even more awkward title, he has revised and greatly extended his work, bringing into it the important developments of the past decade, such as the Rh factor, colchicine-induced polyploidism, and radiation as a cause of mutation. His science is sound, his style is clear and readable, and his book is without doubt the best available discussion of this all-important subject for the layman.

THEATRE

Summer Vacuum

ON MY RETURN to New York I thought it fit to catch up on the shows I had missed during my stay abroad. The prospect was pleasing because they were all entertainments that had been rather well received.

The shows weren't too bad—in each case I was accompanied by a pretty girl—and I was able to leave the theatre without disturbance or disquiet, plus a faint sense of triumph at having cheated the August heat through air-conditioning and the memory of a joke or two.

In the musical *Seventeen* I enjoyed most the presence of that charming Negro actor Alonzo Bozan, who makes the trio number, "I Could Get Married Today," the best thing in the show. In *Two on the Aisle* there is a general good-time atmosphere that is comforting. There is also a smart takeoff of the Kefauver investigation by young Elliott Reed and a brilliantly suggestive skit on the tragi-comedy of competition in which two men who earn their living picking up refuse in the public parks vie for speed records to hold their jobs. In addition, *Two on the Aisle* offers several sumptuous show girls, the surrealistic clownface of Bert Lahr, the energy and long legs of Dolores Gray and the momentarily neglected chic of Colette Marchand.

Of the one "straight" play I shall say nothing because while it is an affable make-believe with a youthfully robust cast acting with some of the catch-as-catch-can humor of big-town kids cutting up around the neighborhood candy store, it will be even more effective when it becomes the movie it already resembles.

As I left these performances I looked over the newspaper quotes in the lobbies and found that the reviewers had treated these exhibits with an unusual cordiality that must have been largely inspired by a consideration for the time of the year at which the shows had opened. It is much too hot in the summer to fuss over fine points, just as one is too busy in the winter to bother with them. And, after all, theatre business this spring and summer marked an alarming decline, only two top musicals giving evidence of continued prosperity and the other attractions that have managed to hold the boards being of frighteningly small number.

The indulgence on the part of the critics toward the recent additions to the dwindling roster of the season's plays is matched by that of most audiences at the summer theatres, where the productions nearly always have a certain crude, thinned-out quality as if the lackadaisical though hard-worked actors were mutely reminding their audiences, "We too are on vacation." Yet is it a vacation? The eagerness with which many small resorts support their playhouses, the amount of employment from which actors benefit during the dog days as compared to the regular season (most of them live nowadays on their earnings in TV), all this made me perversely think that America has no Theatre—only a summer theatre.

Perhaps the unhappy impression of my August return—an impression, to be brutal about it, of listlessness amounting to prostration—has as much to do with the moral weather of the day as with the sultriness of the city. The kind of fanning of the air that is going

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on, the small shudder of uncertainty about everything, the sense of impotence about exerting any influence on the tide of events, the fear of being unpopular and the even more terrible conviction of the futility of any passionate assertion of either a positive or a negative nature, all hang heavily on every spirit, whether consciously or not, and find their reflection in the theatre's tiny mirror.

Is it too much to hope or too naive to demand that at this moment when the world seems to be treading water (with increasing jitters) that people of the theatre—on both sides of the footlights, but particularly the writers—take up the challenge of the climatic depression and come alive with some winter vigor, some moral muscularity, some virile thrust and creative courage? What about a few conscience-piercing cries at any rate? If strength is too difficult to achieve on the streets, let us yet retain it in thought and imagination in our theatre.

HAROLD CLURMAN

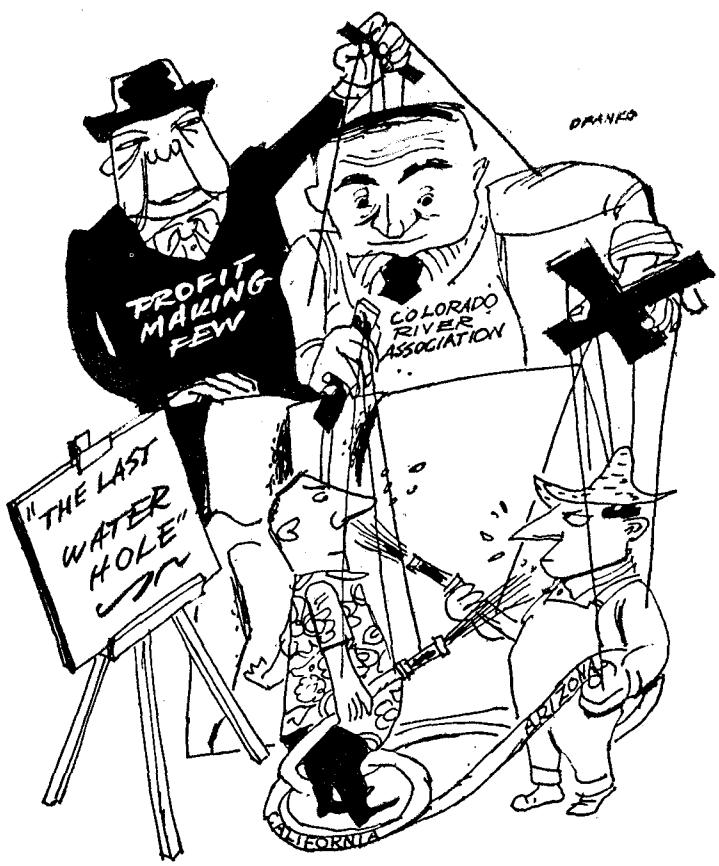
ON THE AIR

Down with the Axis!

HERITAGE is a television program unashamedly devoted, each Wednesday night (eight to nine, NBC-TV), to art and good music. *Johns Hopkins Science Review* is in its fourth year of dedication to meaningful material presented with profound respect for its subject, always without stuffiness and often with a good deal of skillful showmanship. *Kukla, Fran and Ollie* has just inaugurated its new season. Once again, weekdays at seven over NBC-TV, you can see those Kuklapolitan Players continue their whimsical existence, delightfully fanciful and yet as real as Fran Allison, their friend and mentor, who is so much an integral part of the puppet troupe that you sometimes wonder whether she too is not being manipulated by its creator, Burr Tillstrom.

Each in its own category—*Heritage*, *Science Review* and *Kukla*—is the best on television. Yet none of them originates from New York. This is worth noting, now that television is in a period of great physical expansion.

Transcontinental television is a reality. Beyond Omaha, where the coaxial cable (which runs underground) has its westernmost terminus for television-relay purposes, the American Telephone & Telegraph Company has opened for the use of video broadcasters a series of radio-relay towers which "bounce" the signals in the air to San Francisco and thence to San Diego—passing Hollywood on the way. Los Angeles has as many television stations — seven — as New York. It has many other tangibles, including a star system not easily transportable to the East. But I doubt that those who commute beyond Culver City have more television-programming imagination than has been evidenced by their peers who operate out of Radio City's environs. I am afraid that big-league



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TV in the big production centers has stopped growing (some skeptics ask if it ever matured). I am eager for the rest of the country to continue to have a hand in the development of television programming. The three programs mentioned above show that the New York-Hollywood axis is not indispensable.

Kukla is too well known for enlargement here. Tillstrom's genius started the show, and continues it, in Chicago. The *Johns Hopkins Science Review* comes out of Baltimore, where WAAM works closely with the university's director of public relations, Lynn Poole. When I scheduled my most recent viewing of this program, I invited a friend engaged in medical research, because the title that night was "The Magnificent Microscope." The doctor was pleased, excited and amazed. "I was sure that television had nothing but Milton Berle and wrestling," he said.

There are certainly too many Berles —and Hollywood will bring more of them, some perhaps even louder. But there is also *Heritage*. This one comes from Washington, where the "studio" is the National Gallery of Art. The format is simple. Against a background of great works of art, the National Gallery Orchestra plays symphonic music. Last time it was chiefly Valerius, Mozart, Beethoven, Mendelssohn, ably conducted by Richard Bales. Frank Blair introduced the music without flowery speeches. He also discussed some great paintings by Dutch and Flemish artists with a member of the Gallery staff, Dr. Raymond Stites. A very attractive woman, Rose d'Amore, interviewed the evening's guest composer, La Salle Spier. That was all, but it furnished an enjoyable, relaxing and satisfying example of one broadcast hour that takes the audience's maturity for granted.

This is the kind of material that, I fear, we shall get less frequently when Hollywood starts competing with New York for more and bustier Dagmars—unless the rest of the country pitches in.

Before the summer wandering spirit has evaporated, I must mention *Vacation Wonderlands*, which is continuing beyond the heat, weekdays at 3:15, over NBC-TV. The program is of interest chiefly because of the way in which it combines specially prepared films with low-budget studio production, and for providing a view of a young lady who should be given many more tough jobs to do before the TV cameras. The show is the creation of Caroline Burke, who produces it, supervises it and does the amiable comment on the films of various vacation spots. In most hands, a dull travelogue would have been the result. But under the charming guidance of Miss Burke, who knows how to be informative without being schoolmarmish, and can look and act sophisticated without drooling in Stork Club style, *Vacation Wonderlands* has brought during the last couple of months some glimpses of really interesting holiday travel. Educators in search of television formats might study her production. But before they could match *Wonderlands*, they'd have to find another Caroline Burke as narrator. There may be others around the campuses, but Broadcast Boulevard hasn't many.

SAUL CARSON

(Continued from page 14)

within which efforts to break the national barriers to production and to release new productive energies can succeed.

European Union, once it becomes the overriding objective of US policy, can direct our intervention to the critical points where, if change is brought about, then change elsewhere will follow.

European Union is the invincible idea which, as Emerson wrote, bestows upon the hero its cloak of impregnability. If our actions are directed toward Union, then they will generate support in Europe which actions unrelated to a clear end cannot arouse. For Union to Europeans provides the missing factor in all our present programs: a light at the end of the road.

(This is the second in a series of four articles on Europe and the US. The third will analyze the prospects for European Union and review its major problems. The fourth article will outline a new program for Europe.)

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